

Will Jackson's Chinese Dragons and the Southwold Railway

- by Peter Crush [柯睿思] -

NOTE: This article was first published in the January / February 2022 (No.933 ,Volume 98) edition of the ***Journal of The Stephenson Locomotive Society*** of Great Britain. It is republished here with no objections since the copyright remains with the author. A small number of minor corrections and one additional image of an obituary notice have been added to the original version

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Hong Kong
25 November 2022

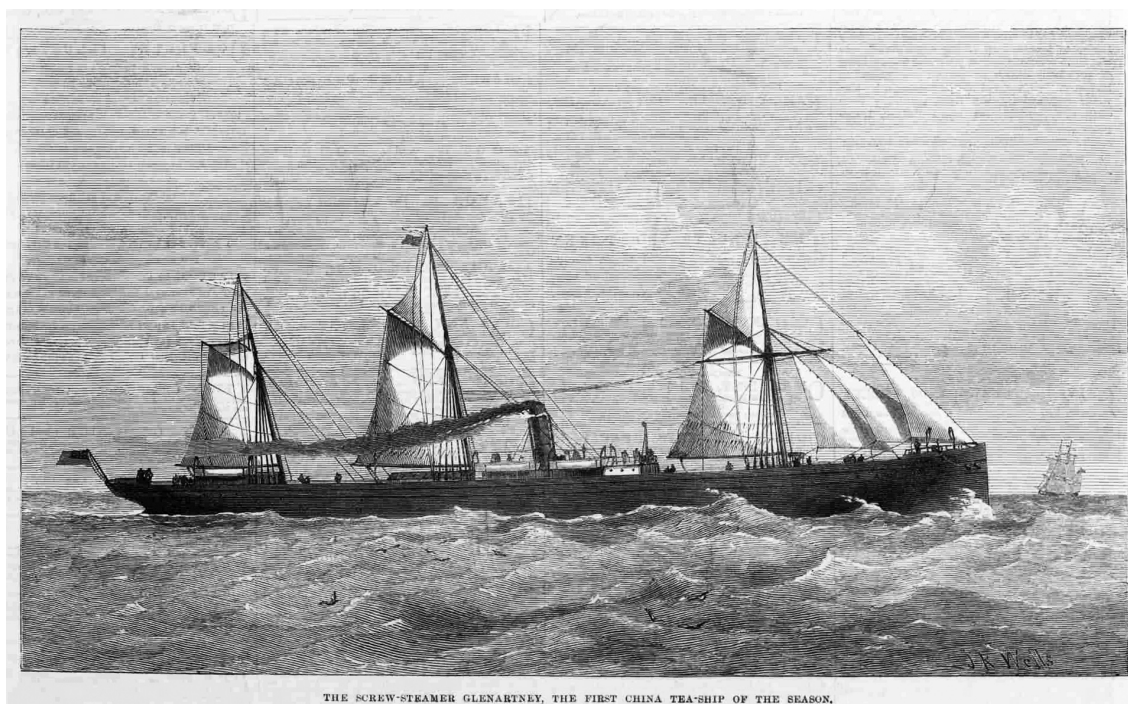
Will Jackson's Chinese Dragons and the Southwold Railway - by Peter Crush -

- A short true tale of Englishman William George Jackson (1850 – 1924), China's first railway locomotive driver who later became locomotive foreman on the Southwold Railway

William George Jackson was born in Ipswich on 15th August 1850 and baptized at the town's medieval church of St. Peters on 27th October 1850. He was the son of James, a coach painter, and Eliza Jackson. The April 1871 Census records William as an engine fitter aged 21, although this was a few months short of his 21st birthday. He was then living at his parents' home at St Mary Stoke, near the Ipswich town centre and probably worked locally on the Great Eastern Railway.

In early 1875, Richard Rapier, a partner in the Ipswich Waterside Works of Ransome & Rapier, secured a contract from China traders, Jardine & Matheson Company, to construct a short line of 2ft.- 6in. narrow-gauge railway in Shanghai for the Woosung Road Company. Rapier himself was what in modern parlance is termed a "bit of a Sinophile"¹, having earlier participated in a failed plan to present a miniature railway set as a gift to the Emperor of China, thereby enlightening the Chinese nation on the benefits of railways.²

How and why, Jackson was selected by Richard Rapier and the Woosung Road Company's Chief Engineer & General Manager, Gabriel James Morrison to head the locomotive section for the railway in China has yet to be discovered. Perhaps a Masonic connection or through the local church community.



(Fig1) Engraving of S.S. *Glenartney*, sister ship of the *Glenroy* ³

¹Somewhat like UK's Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, who in February 2021 also declared himself "fervently Sinophile" during a television interview, telling the nation that he was seeking to strengthen its economic and trade links with China and was determined to improve ties "whatever the occasional political difficulties".

² *Woosung Road – The Story of China's First Railway*, by Peter Crush, published Hong Kong 1999

³ The *Glenroy* was the first of six similar iron-hulled ships built between 1871 and 1874 by the London & Glasgow Engineering & Iron Shipbuilding. Co. Ltd., of Govan, Glasgow for owner Alan C. Gow. Engravings or photographs of the 1871- built *Glenroy* are yet to be discovered. This engraving of sister-ship *Glenartney* appeared in the Illustrated London News, 1 August, 1874.

In late October 1875 Jackson, then aged 25, together with 20-year-old assistant driver-cum-engineer, David Banks, also a local Ipswich boy, travelled to London Docks where they boarded the S.S. *Glenroy* bound for Shanghai, a journey which would take the better part of two months. Banks would probably have been known to Rapier because he had served an apprenticeship in the E.R. & F's Turner's ironworks, manufacturing agricultural machinery.⁴ Rapier's business partner, Robert Ransome had also been involved in the production of agricultural implements in Ipswich before he had joined forces with Rapier to form their Ransomes & Rapier Waterside Works partnership.

Joining them on the ship, which cast off from London Docks on 22nd. October, was the rest of the railway construction crew, Chief Foreman, John Sadler and his two sons John (junior) and George of London. The cargo ship *Glenroy* would have been a slow ship; it was iron-hulled, 1,370 tons, 331 feet in length, a beam of a little less than 30 ft and powered by a low-powered 2-compound engine with medium and low- pressure cylinders of 40 and 70 inches in diameter, respectively with a 42-inch stroke. Hence the need for the three masts for auxiliary sails, which were intended to give the ship a bit of help on its long journey, pottering along usually at little more than 8 or 9 knots. Only if the captain was willing to burn through his coal rapidly and go "flat stick" might the rated maximum of 11 knots be achieved and then probably also only with a good tail wind behind them.⁵ Deep in the ship's holds with the first supplies of rails, fishplates and ballast wagons etc. was the diminutive 0-4-0 construction locomotive "Pioneer", the personal brainchild of Richard Rapier.



Fig.2 The Straights Times

The *Glenroy* under the command of Captain "J.S ("Jas") Hogg, had called enroute at Singapore and Hong Kong in late November and early December, respectively. It was delivering indispensable necessities for Far East-based 'mad dogs and Englishmen' which included "Christmas tree ornaments, ear drops, oxidized mirrors, velvet pile hassocks" as well as other personal hygiene essentials such as "Cleaver's patent Terebene soap, violet powder for the ladies and badger hair tooth and shaving brushes".

Eventually, the slow steamer chugged up the Yangtze river and late evening on 20th December 1875, the ship berthed at Shanghai's Woosung Docks, at the mouth of the tributary Huangpu (*Huangpu*) River.⁶ The following morning the group of Englishmen would have disembarked with their sea trunks and taken a local ferry up the Huangpu to the bustling city of the Foreign (Fig.2) Settlement. The Temperance Hall at 15, Nanking

Road, close to the famous "Bund", was to be their home for next two years.⁷

⁴Unpublished manuscript of a talk : " An Ipswich Man in China – David Banks & the Shanghai -Woosung Railway " given in 1998 by David Jones to the Suffolk Family History Society. I thank David Jones for providing this manuscript.

⁵ I thank Stephen Davies, a former Director of the Hong Kong Maritime Museum, for unraveling the mysteries of the abbreviations for engine data within the Lloyds shipping registers. During the 1870's these registers were a bit slow in updating their Key at in the Preface of each edition.

⁶Shipping movements as reported in the *Singapore Straights Times & China Mail* 4. Dec 1875 -16Jan 1876

⁷. Shanghai correspondence address used by Jackson and also Banks in letters written to UK .

Almost immediately after the Christmas and new year celebrations within the European community, the five Englishmen spent their first few working days retrieving their precious railway cargo offloaded from the holds of the *Glenroy*. Their boss, the Chief Engineer and General Manager, Gabriel Morrison arrived on 8th January 1876 by ship from San Francisco having made his way to China via USA, presenting him with the opportunity to ride and inspect America's new trans-continental railroad.



(Fig.3) The 2ft-6" gauge locomotive, "*Pioneer*" being carried for its first test run in Shanghai. Kneeling on the left, although not identified in the original photo, is almost certainly William Jackson with bowler-hatted, John Sadler (senior) on the right

To facilitate construction of the line the rails and sleepers were unloaded at Woosung and transferred to small river boats and distributed to a number of points along the railway route, making use of Shanghai's extensive network of narrow river creeks. Much of the earthworks for the track bed had been completed before the men's arrival so the team's next priority was to build some fifteen timber bridges across the numerous creeks. By 14th February about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile of track had been laid and it was decided to give little "*Pioneer*" its first trial since reaching China. The locomotive, weighing about 1½ tons, was first loaded onto a sampan and rowed up a creek to a point about one mile from Shanghai known as the 'Riffle Butts'.

Unloaded from the boat, it was suspended from long bamboo poles supported on the shoulders of sixteen "coolies" who carried it half a mile to the track.⁸ In Fig. 3 above, by a process of elimination and comparison with other photographs it has been determined that William Jackson is the figure kneeling down on the left. His distinguishing facial features still recognizable in photographs taken back in Britain some thirty years later. The figure on the right is identified as Foreman John Sadler (senior), simply because all the other members of the construction team were much younger.⁹

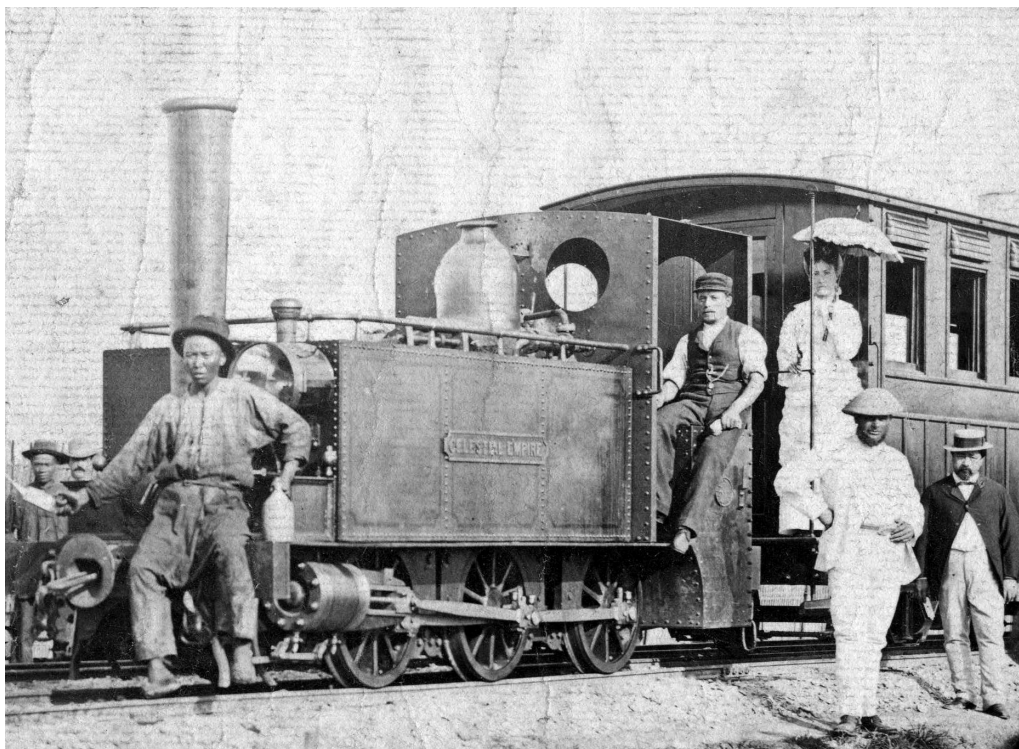
⁸ Ibid "Woosung Road".

⁹It could also not be Gabriel Morrison, whose photograph we have for comparison.



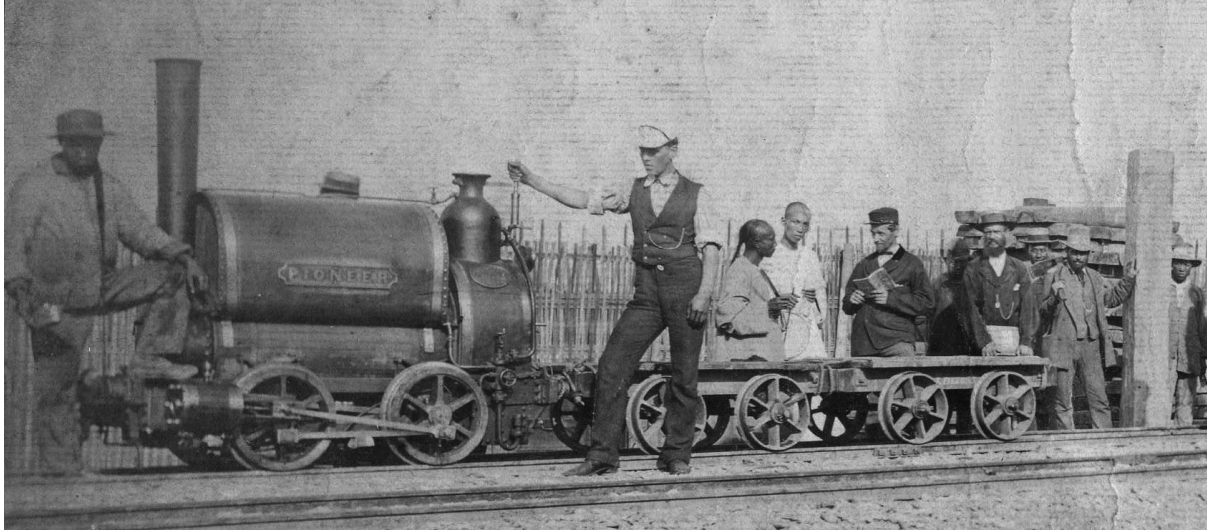
(Fig 4) Posed picture of two trains on the railway just before the official 'Opening Day' train on 30th. June 1876.¹⁰

We fast-forward in this story to the completion of one half of the approximate nine-mile railway, when on 30th June the railway was formally declared open between a temporary station at Shanghai and the village of Kiangwan (*Jiangwan*), the halfway point on the line to Woosung. By this date the railway only had the first of the two larger passenger locomotives serviceable, the second having only arrived in June and still being erected.

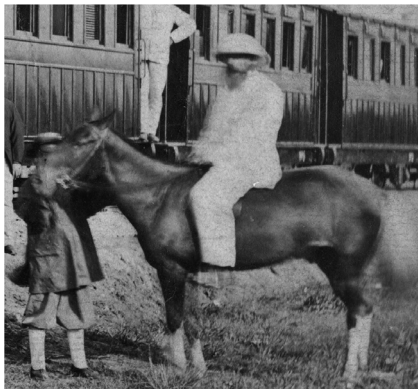


(Fig 5) Close up of *Celestial Empire* from Fig. 4 above. On the foot plate is William Jackson who drove the opening train on 30th June 1876.

¹⁰ Photos (Figs.4 & 5.) : P. A Crush Chinese Railway Collection



(Fig.6) Close up of *Pioneer* from Fig.4. At the controls of *Pioneer* was Jackson's assistant driver and engineer, David Banks, then aged about 21 years. On the right with left hand on a wooden pile and the other gripping a chisel-ended ballast pick, appears to be construction foreman John Sadler who also appears in Fig.3. The other two unidentified Europeans will be two of the six engaged locally in Shanghai to fill other supervisory positions.



(Fig. 7) Gabriel Morrison, Chief Engineer

Also in Figs. 4 & 7 (enlargement), one figure is on horseback but unfortunately his face is blurred, probably because of movement just as Shanghai photographer, L.F. Fisler removed the lens cap to expose the photographic glass plate. However, records from this day indicate that Chief Engineer Gabriel Morrison chose to ride out to the scene on his pony. In the same picture we can also see the first five of the rake of six carriages used for the first train. These comprised one 1st Class coach for 16 passengers, one 2nd Class with 18 seats and four 3rd class each having 24 seats, constructed for Ransomes and Rapier by the Bristol Wagon Works, the same company

which later supplied coaches for the Southwold Railway, but more on that later. The final observation from Fig.4 is the generous supply of beer barrels dumped on the ground near the track. I first surmised that this was a delivery of beer to be served at the opening ceremony but upon reading in the *North China Daily News* that guests were supplied with a liberal supply of bottled champagne, the only other explanation is that the barrels contained clean and filtered water for the locomotive boilers because the water in the Shanghai creeks was not only muddy but heavily saline especially when high tides infiltrated high up the Yangtze River. Jackson, who drove this official opening train was praised in the local newspaper the following day for having driven the train "*steadily along at about fifteen miles an hour with a remarkable absence of oscillation*". After the success of the opening day the railway commenced a regular service of six up and down trains daily between Shanghai and Kiangwan (*Jiangwan*) On 3 July, later increased to seven when the third engine "Flowerly Land" delivered in June, was up and running.

However, the good luck of the first few weeks was not to last long. Demonstrations against the railway continued in the ensuing weeks, encouraged by the Chinese authorities and there were a number of mob attacks on staff and malicious damage to railway property. The

¹¹ *North China Daily News and S.C. & C. Gazette* 1st July 1876

whole operation came to a grinding halt after there was suicide case when a discharged Chinese soldier deliberately ran onto the track in front of a train driven by assistant driver David Banks. A furore erupted and the British envoy to China found himself embroiled in a major diplomatic incident which lasted some months. Banks, at the demand of Chinese officials, was charged with the offence of manslaughter in the Shanghai courts for foreign residents but was acquitted after witnesses testified that Banks' driving that day had been faultless. In spite of the acquittal, I expect Jackson had a sigh of relief that he had not been driving on that day and it was not he, sitting in the defendant's box.

The dispute dragged on for the remainder of the summer and autumn with the railway's operations suspended. However, during the closure, construction of the remaining unfinished section of the track to Woosung was still executed in expectation of a resolution of the case. A diplomatic agreement was eventually reached in October 1876 but not a decision company had been wanting to hear. The Chinese government would purchase "at cost" the railway which would be permitted to reopen, but remain running for one year only and the revenue received by the new owner would be applied to settling the purchase. During this time of suspension, the English construction team suffered its first casualty when Foreman John Sadler (senior) contracted dysentery and died in September.¹²

In a letter written by Jackson to Richard Rapier on 30 November 1876, he describes how the construction locomotive Pioneer "having dragged 12,000 tons of ballast had suffered some rough usage" but the suspended operation had given himself and Banks the opportunity to give her a complete rebuild. He further understood that the engine had "been sold" although this information was later found to be incorrect. Jackson continues that he was "pleased to learn that a third engine had been ordered because the resumption of services with seven trains day would be difficult to maintain with only two engines".¹³ Jackson wrote a further letter to Rapier on 2nd December reporting the successful reopening of the railway. In this letter, Jackson specifically mentions that "Banks wishes to be kindly remembered" and that he would "answer your letters shortly". I detect a slight hint of rivalry in these letters because Banks, Jackson's junior was also writing letters to his mother and to Rapier about his own and "my mate Will's" achievements. Both of them knew that their employment in China would soon end and these letters were perhaps sending feelers to Rapier about employment prospects back in Ipswich upon their return.

The now fully-completed railway was reopened on 1 December 1876 with seven trainsst each way between Shanghai and Woosung Creek which, Jackson explained to Rapier, were divided between himself and Banks into morning and afternoon shifts. Jackson was also happy to hear that construction of the third engine was progressing well in Ipswich. When this engine, "Viceroy", did arrive and had been assembled in September, the relief to the stretched operation was not as envisaged because the engine was larger, weighing in at 11 ½ tons, two tons heavier than the others. Chief engineer Morrison wrote back to England explaining that he had discovered the wooden bridges were sinking and unable to bear the additional weight of this engine because of too few piles. His letter to Rapier about this concludes that that he "had not yet decided what to do".

We move forward to the date agreed for the surrender of the railway to the Chinese authorities upon receipt of the final installment. On Saturday 20 October 1877 the final train left Shanghai just after noon; it was a special train with all twelve coaches hooked together, headed by *Viceroy*, which had seen barely a month's operation. Jackson would have been on the footplate and perhaps, David Banks too. Absent though, were the two remaining "Londoners", the Sadler brothers who had lost their father the previous year. John Sadler (junior), in spite of residing in the Temperance Society's Hall of residence with their rules of "strict abstinence", fell seriously ill in July with not only dysentery but also in an almost

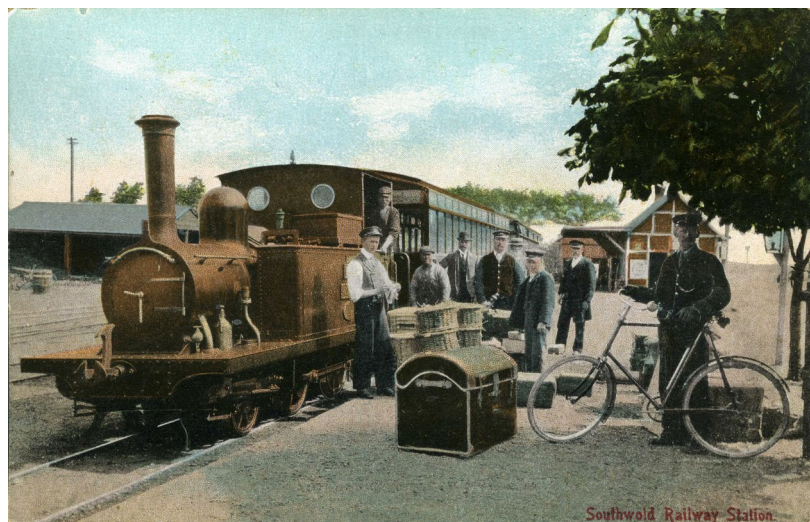
¹² Ibid "Woosung Road)".

¹³ This letter from Jackson was forwarded by Rapier for publication in the *East Anglian Times* in January 1877.

permanent state of intoxication. Morrison having suspended him from work on several prior occasions saw fit this time to send him back home to London early, accompanied by his younger brother.¹⁴

The Woosung Road railway company had hoped that the new Chinese owners would continue to operate the railway but this was not to be. On 12th November work commenced on the careful removal of the track and the dismantling of the buildings and other facilities. The uplifted track was initially loaded onto flat wagons and pushed by hand but eventually both *Celestial Empire* and *Pioneer* were brought out of the sheds, steamed up, and driven by the former Chinese firemen, shunting the heavily loaded wagons. All of this railway equipment including the dissembled rolling stock was then shipped to Taiwan where it was intended to be reused. However, it was at this stage that the somewhat malicious and false stories were spread about by members of Shanghai's bar-resorting foreign community including newspaper correspondents. There were accounts published around the world about how the tracks were "ripped up and tossed in the river" and that equipment which did reach Taiwan was then "thrown into the sea".¹⁵

By December, both Jackson and his assistant Banks were on their way back home to Ipswich in England although business was so slow at the Ransome and Rapiers Waterside Works that neither of them would be offered a position there. William Jackson, who must have been favoured by Rapier, stayed a railwayman and was soon offered a position as Locomotive Foreman at the new Southwold Railway.¹⁶



(Fig.8) An early 20thC. colour-tinted postcard of Southwold station. On the footplate of No.3 "Blyth: is probably Jackson, his distinctive walrus moustache just discernible. .

David Banks, who throughout his short time in China repeatedly moaned about the "inferior wages" of railway engineers compared to marine engineers, went off to forge a new career

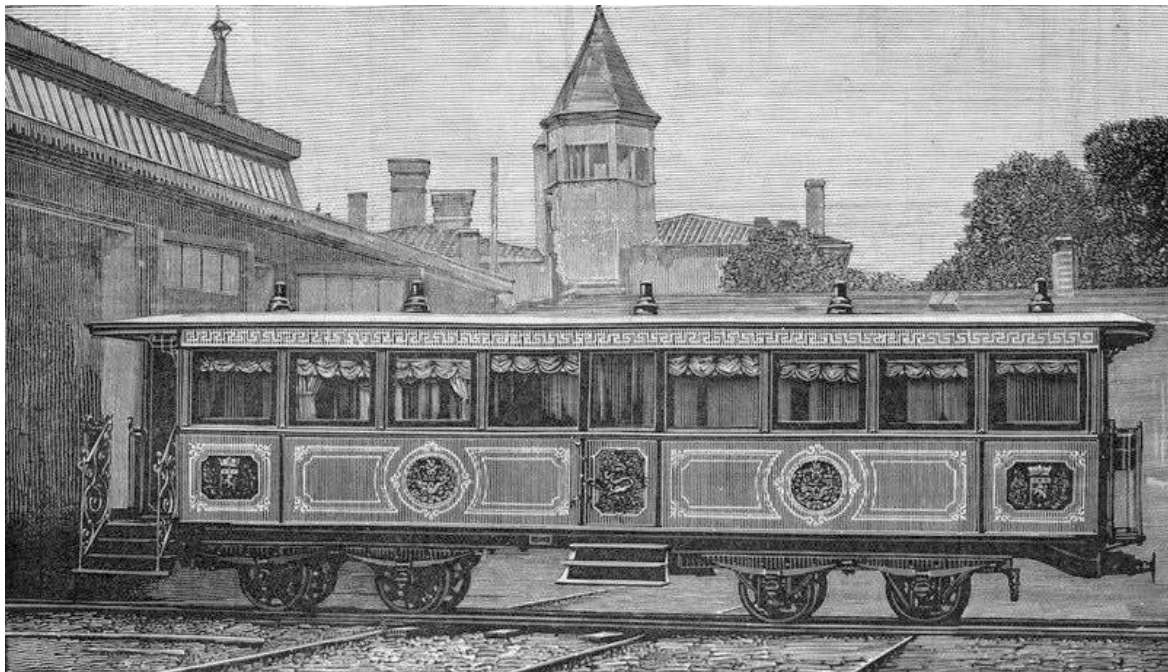
¹⁴ The Temperance Hall had been established by the missionary society to provide accommodation for visiting seamen, away from the evils of drink and the prostitutes of Shanghai's numerous brothels. In a medical report, published by Dr. Edward Henderson M.D in 1871 for the Shanghai foreign settlement Council, it was claimed that one Royal Navy ship's commander admitted that almost a third of his 320-men crew contracted venereal disease during the ship's 40-day layover at Shanghai.

¹⁵ One of the first writers to spread false stories about the fate of the steel rails was prolific Victorian British author, Alexis Krausse, who writing in his *"China in Decay"* published in London in 1898, stated the rails were pulled up and tossed in the sea. It is doubtful if Krausse ever ventured to Shanghai since neither Shanghai nor Woosung lie near the sea front. Similar falsehoods were printed in the *Locomotive Magazine* (May 15 1939). However, accurate and factual accounts of the railway's removal and shipment to "Taiwanfu" (Tainan) in Formosa are recorded in British Consular reports as well in the *North China Daily News*. It is true that the railway equipment, having reached Taiwan was stored within bamboo mat-sheds close to the seashore and not too well protected from the tropical weather. The locomotive *Pioneer* was described in 1879 as being "covered in rust". Recent research by this author has unearthed credible evidence that the railway equipment was in the early 1880's shipped back to the mainland for use in harbour and defence construction work for the China Naval Depot in Port Artur (*Lushun*)

¹⁶ Richard Rapier was also an enthusiastic proponent of the Southwold Railway and served as its Chairman from 1877-1897.

in marine engineering, perhaps making use of new friendships cultivated during the long sea passages to and from China. With few passengers on board a cargo ship, there would have been plenty of opportunity to get to know the ship's engineer and become acquainted with the intricate workings of a marine steam engine.

Rapier's association with the new Southwold Railway together with Jackson's appointment as Locomotive Foreman would have undoubtedly helped foster the rumours and false stories which began spreading in Britain that the rolling stock of from the Woosung railway had been sent back to England and redeployed on the Southwold line. The fact that coaches for both railways had also been manufactured by the Bristol Waggon Works also added fuel to the myth, conveniently overlooking that Southwold Railway's carriages were considerably larger, built for a wider track gauge and that the latter had three axles whereas the Woosung cars had only two. The original Southwold coaches were of a very dark livery but these were soon repainted cream which in one fake story concerning their origin, was described as bright yellow (the Chinese Emperor's reserved colour) and that the shape of Chinese dragons could still be seen beneath the paint¹⁷.



(Fig.9) Builder's engraving of a coach built in 1888 for the Emperor of China's miniature railway in Peking, seen Outside the factory of Société de l'Horme et Buire at Les Chantiers de la Buire in Lyon, France ¹⁸

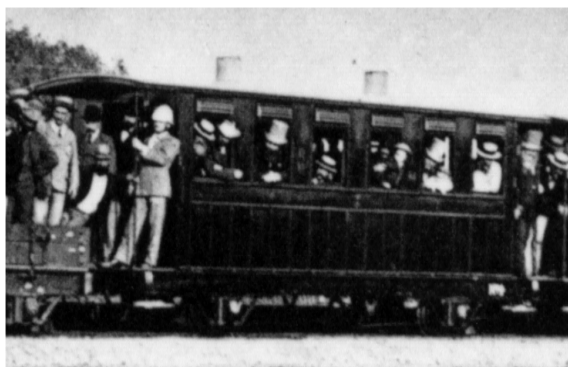
This myth also became intertwined and confused with another but completely different railway venture, when Rapier, obsessed with railway development in China, attempted to put together a scheme presenting a gift of a miniature railway for the palace grounds of the Emperor of China. Such a railway did eventually get constructed but not until 1888 and then, not as a gift from foreigners but purchased by the Chinese government from a French syndicate. The gauge of this railway was 800mm, about 10½ inches narrower than the Suffolk line but the length of the carriages (11 meters), built by Société de l'Horme et Buire at Les Chantiers de la Buire in Lyon, France was almost the same of those of the Southwold Railway's ¹⁹

¹⁷ "Slow Norfolk and Suffolk" by Laurence Michell, 2010..

¹⁸ Le Genie Civil 15 September 1888

¹⁹ Some of the coaches on this line, did have panel bearing an Imperial Gold Seal containing the five-clawed Chinese dragon as well as the seal of the French city of Lyon where the carriages were constructed by Société de l'Horme et Buire. (See Early

Further credence to this myth was probably encouraged by the publication in 1948 of a book '*The Story of Southwold*', edited by M. J. Becker who wrote "a persistent legend was that the train first ran through the Suffolk meadows painted with yellow dragons, being one ordered by the Emperor of China".



(Fig.10) 3rd Class carriage on Woosung Railway
G: 2ft.6in. ; L: 18ft.; W: 5ft. 6"; with 6 windows
(The 1st & 2nd Class cars were shorter with 5 windows)



(Fig. 11) Southwold Railway Carriage
G: 3ft.6in. ; L: 35ft.; W: 6ft. 6"; with 15 windows
(Note: dimensions are approximate)



(Fig.12) The name plate affixed to Jackson's house in Southwold

Jackson himself, claimed that he always sought to dispel these myths. In a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in response to an article in a previous edition, he wrote "I always take the opportunity to contradict the statement that the locomotives and cars were designed for China".²⁰ However, Jackson was probably not entirely innocent of encouraging misconceptions that there were some

very close Chinese associations with the Southwold line because of his reported propensity to attire himself in Chinese robes at parties and tell tales about his time in Shanghai.²¹ He also attached a painted plate with the name "Shanghai Cottage" and some strange Chinese-looking hieroglyphs on his house. The reference to a building of this name existed on Ipswich Council building application plans well into the 1960's.²²

In the early 1900's William's face was still a familiar site around Southwold station and locomotive shed and he appears in several surviving photographs. During these later years of service, he appears to have been a portly and friendly figure who assisted with many of the goings on at the station even though not directly related to the maintenance of the locomotives.

Chinese Narrow Gauge Railways - Part 2 -The Emperor's Palace Railway by Peter Crush & Baiyu Shang. - Downloadable pdf file from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/353767552_EARLY_CHINESE_NARROW_GAUGE_RAILWAYS_-_Part_2_-_The_Emperor's_Palace_Railway_aka_Violet_Tower_Railway_or_Xiyuan_Railway)

²⁰"Under the Giant's Eye" - *Pall Mall Gazette* 05 August 1911

²¹ *The Southwold Railway 1879-1929*, Rob Shorland-Ball, David Lee and others, published 2019

²² John Mann reports that this plate was formerly displayed in Southwold Museum but later removed to storage. Volunteers later reported that the plate had been rediscovered but labeled as "uncatalogued and unidentified". Its current whereabouts are unknown. In 1967 the local town council considered a planning application for development on a site to the rear of the Eastern Gas Board's showroom still known locally as "Shanghai Cottage". (Fig 12: Courtesy of Southwold Museum).



(Fig.13) William Jackson leaning on the headstock of 2-4-0 No. 3 "Blyth", constructed in 1879 by Sharp, Stewart at their Atlas Works in Glasgow (Works no. 2850). The locomotive had been rebuilt and new boiler fitted at Southwold in 1900 and no doubt Jackson would have played a major hands-on role in this work.²³

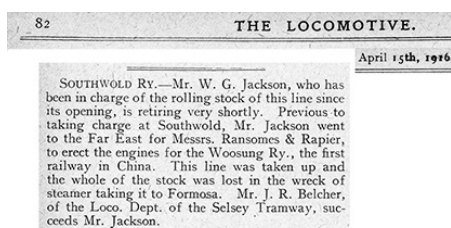


(Fig.14) An enlargement of Jackson from Fig 13 indicates he is holding an edition of the "Locomotive" magazine. Perhaps this was the edition containing an announcement of his forthcoming retirement in 1916.²⁴ William Jackson pottered on towards his retirement in a job which was probably not too stressful, being at the end of this remote sleepy line with few services. By 1910, the company was already in financial difficulties because of falling traffic caused by competition

²³ Photos (Figs. 8, 11, 13 & 14) from The Stephenson Locomotive Society's photograph collection with thanks to Gerry Nichols (Hon. Librarian) for his superb support in resourcing this article.

²⁴ *The Locomotive* April 15th 1916 contained an announcement of his forthcoming retirement

from the roads including a bus service. However, a rude shock hit with the start of the World War, when the railway suddenly became much more active with additional troop trains, including night workings and the carriage of freight, mainly coal heading to Southwold's Harbour and increasing twenty-fold to over 1500 tons. For Jackson, then aged 65, retirement could not have come soon enough because the strain of the extra pressures placed on the railway's additional operations by military requirements was beginning to tell on his health.²⁵



A short retirement report appeared in "*The Locomotive*" magazine which again did not miss an opportunity to spin another fake tale about the Woosung Railway's rolling stock having been lost in the wreck of a steamer taking it to Formosa.

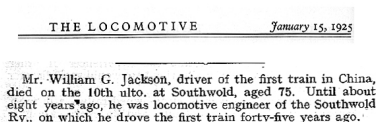
(Fig. 15) *The Locomotive*: Jackson's retirement notice

The "Devil" Train.

A man named William Jackson, who died to-day, was the man who drove the first train in China as well as the first train on the Southwold Railway. The Southwold drive was probably a prosaic and sober affair, but the driving of the first train in China was an adventurous undertaking on account of the hostility of the people, who believed it to be some kind of devil. Though they were finally persuaded to allow the railway—a short stretch near Shanghai—to be built, they repented immediately the first train had run over it and tore up all the rails again.

Jackson died on 10th December 1924 and was buried in St. Margaret's Church in Reydon. A number of newspapers and publications, both in England and overseas, published short obituaries including the Leeds Mercury, which featured it as the man who drove "The Devil Train". (left : Fig.16)²⁶.

(Fig. 16) *The Leeds Mercury* : Jackson Obituary



A short obituary for William Jackson also appeared in the January 15, 1925 edition of "*The Locomotive*" magazine..

(Fig. 17) *The Locomotive* : Jackson Obituary

Shortly after his return from China, Jackson had married Mary Ann Lingley in 1879 by whom he appears to have had four daughters and one son.²⁷ Unlike his former assistant David Banks, whose letters and mementoes were discovered by his great-grandson in a trunk not so long ago, Jackson's papers, if any, have yet to come to public light. Perhaps there are great-great grandchildren out there somewhere, who still have a treasure trove of Chinese mysteries and perhaps even "Dragons" hidden in an old battered suitcase up in their loft.²⁸

²⁵ Ibid : *The Southwold Railway 1879-1929*,

²⁶ *Leeds Mercury* 11 December 1924. *The Locomotive* magazine also reported his death in the 15 January 1925 edition.

²⁷ William George Lingley Jackson (1891-1977). Thanks are due to Neil Coles of Suffolk Archives & Betty Harmer, Historian at St Margaret's Church, Reydon, who discovered his overgrown burial site in the churchyard.

²⁸ I wish to thank John D. Mann, railway writer/photographer and former publisher for his contributions for this article, it would have been nice ending to this tale if an engraving of *Pioneer* had been found adorning a headstone on Jackson's grave, but this was not to be !.